

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 123-75
8 AUGUST 1975

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 123-75-4

I. INDIA: SIX WEEKS AFTER THE PROCLAIMED STATE OF EMERGENCY IN INDIA, PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI CONTINUES TO INCREASE HER PERSONAL POWER. SHE HAS CALLED THE EMERGENCY A NECESSARY STEP IN HALTING A TREND TOWARD ANARCHY; OCCASIONALLY, SHE SHEDS LIGHT ON MAJOR CHANGES SHE IS CONTEMPLATING FOR INDIA'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FUTURE.⁴

THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, WHICH CAN BE PROLONGED INDEFINITELY, HAS BEEN DESCRIBED BY GOVERNMENT LEADERS AS ONLY TEMPORARY, BUT MOST POLITICAL OBSERVERS EXPECT IT TO RUN WELL INTO 1976 OR BEYOND. GANDHI REFUSES TO SPECULATE ON ITS DURATION, NOR WILL SHE SET A DATE FOR THE NATIONAL ELECTION DUE BY NEXT MARCH. THE EXISTING PARLIAMENT, IN WHICH THE RULING CONGRESS PARTY HAS A LARGE MAJORITY, CAN EXTEND ITS TERM FOR ONE-YEAR PERIODS BY A SIMPLE MAJORITY VOTE.⁴

IN SPEAKING OF THE FUTURE, GANDHI HAS BEEN DEFINITIVE ON ONLY ONE POINT: "POLITICAL PERMISSIVENESS" AS IT EXISTED BEFORE THE CRACKDOWN WILL NOT BE RESTORED.⁴

GANDHI IS CONTEMPLATING A MAJOR OVERHAUL OF INDIA'S POLITICAL

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STRUCTURE IN ORDER TO INSTITUTIONALIZE HER GREATER POWERS. OFFICIALS CLOSE TO HER HAVE SAID THAT THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM INDIA ADOPTED IN 1950 HAS PROVED NOT WELL-SUITED TO INDIA WITH ITS HUGE, DISPARATE, PREDOMINANTLY ILLITERATE POPULATION. GANDHI TOLD PARLIAMENT THAT INDIA HAS TO EVOLVE A POLITICAL SYSTEM IN WHICH THE "RIGHT BALANCE" IS STRUCK BETWEEN FREEDOM AND SOCIAL DISCIPLINE.⁴

SHE MIGHT TRANSFORM THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT INTO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND ORDER IT TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION OR DEVISE A NEW ONE. GANDHI HAS FREQUENTLY USED THE AMENDMENT PROCESS TO GET HER WAY, MOST RECENTLY TO PREVENT THE COURTS FROM CHALLENGING THE EMERGENCY. CONGRESS PARTY CONTROL OF MOST STATE GOVERNMENTS MAKES IT RELATIVELY EASY TO SECURE THE REQUIRED APPROVAL OF AT LEAST HALF THE STATE LEGISLATURES.⁴

SPECULATION HAS IT THAT GANDHI WILL PRESS FOR A STRONG PRESIDENTIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT--PERHAPS ALONG LINES OF THE FRENCH SYSTEM, WITH HERSELF OF COURSE AS THE FIRST OCCUPANT OF THE OFFICE. UNDER THE EXISTING ARRANGEMENT, THE INDIAN PRESIDENT FUNCTIONS AS A CEREMONIAL FIGURE, BUT HAS VAST UNUSED POWERS THAT GANDHI PROBABLY

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CONSIDERS A LATENT THREAT.⁴

A ONE-PARTY SYSTEM MAY BE UNDER CONSIDERATION. A PRO-GANDHI NEWSPAPER THAT FREQUENTLY RELEASES POLITICAL TRIAL BALLOONS HAS SUGGESTED AS MUCH.⁴

IN THE MEANTIME, INTIMIDATION AND REPRESSION WILL BE GANDHI'S CHIEF WEAPONS AGAINST A LEADERLESS AND FLOUNDERING OPPOSITION. ABOUT 19,000 PERSONS, INCLUDING 29 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, HAVE BEEN ARRESTED SINCE THE EMERGENCY WAS DECLARED ON JUNE 26—OVER 6,000 OF THEM FOR POLITICAL REASONS. THE REMAINDER HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH THINGS LIKE SMUGGLING, HOARDING, OR INCOME-TAX EVASION.⁴

WITH ONLY A FEW EXCEPTIONS, THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN QUIET SINCE GANDHI MADE HER MOVE. ATTEMPTS TO DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT MAY BE MADE ON AUGUST 9, ANNIVERSARY OF A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE BRITISH IN THE COLONIAL ERA, AND ON AUGUST 15, INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY. THE LARGE POLICE AND INTELLIGENCE APPARATUS IS ALERT TO ANY SIGNS OF UNREST, PARTICULARLY IN THE TWO STATES WHERE THE RULING CONGRESS PARTY IS NOT IN CHARGE, TAMIL NADU AND GUJARAT.

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LEADERS IN BOTH STATES HAVE OPENLY DENOUNCED GANDHI'S SHIFT TO AUTHORITARIANISM, BUT HAVE CAREFULLY AVOIDED ACTIONS THAT WOULD GIVE HER A PRETEXT FOR INSTITUTING DIRECT CONTROL FROM NEW DELHI.⁴

THE PRESS IS LIKELY TO REMAIN UNDER CENSORSHIP INDEFINITELY. THE HARSH PRESS RULES IMPOSED GREW IN PART OUT OF GANDHI'S BITTERNESS ABOUT WHAT SHE THINKS OF AS UNFAIR TREATMENT BY BOTH THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN PRESS OVER THE YEARS. SHE IS HIGHLY SENSITIVE TO PERSONAL CRITICISM AND HAS COMPLAINED THAT THE PRESS HAS CONSISTENTLY ATTACKED THE NEHRU FAMILY, EVEN WHEN HER FATHER WAS PRIME MINISTER.⁴

"THEY ARE ALL AGAINST ME," SHE SAID IN A RECENT INTERVIEW. "THEY RESORT TO VICIOUS SLANDER AND CALUMNY, AND I WILL NOT HAVE IT!"⁴

MOST INDIAN EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS HAVE ACCEPTED PRESS CENSORSHIP DOCILELY. AT LEAST ONE INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN INDIAN NEWSMAN HAS BEEN ARRESTED, HOWEVER, AND A NUMBER OF LEADING JOURNALISTS HAVE CEASED TO PUBLISH SIGNED COLUMNS. AN UNDERGROUND PRESS IS CHURNING OUT ANTI-GOVERNMENT MATERIAL, WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE HAD LITTLE IMPACT THUS FAR.⁴

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GANDHI HAS OUTLINED A 20-POINT PACKAGE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS DESIGNED TO RALLY PUBLIC SUPPORT BEHIND HER. THE PROPOSED REFORMS READ LIKE A REPRISE OF THE CONGRESS PARTY PROMISES IN EVERY ELECTION CAMPAIGN SINCE INDEPENDENCE.⁴

THERE IS SOMETHING FOR EVERYONE: FOR THE RURAL POOR, LAND REFORM, HIGHER WAGES, AND ABOLITION OF BONDED LABOR; FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS, TAX RELIEF; AND FOR THE WEALTHY, LIBERALIZED INVESTMENT POSSIBILITIES AND ASSURANCES ABOUT NATIONALIZATION.⁴

FEW EXPECT GANDHI TO SUCCEED IN IMPLEMENTING ALL THESE PROMISES. THE PUBLIC MOOD, HOWEVER, IS MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN IT WAS A YEAR AGO, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF AN IMPROVED ECONOMIC OUTLOOK.⁴

FOOD PRICES HAVE FALLEN SINCE JUNE, AND HIGH-YIELD SEEDS, FERTILIZER, AND ELECTRIC POWER ARE IN GOOD SUPPLY. MOST IMPORTANT, THE SUMMER MONSOON HAS BEEN GOOD, BRINGING THE PROMISE OF A BETTER FALL HARVEST THAN IN 1974.⁴

SOME INDIANS HOPE THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S EXPANDED POWERS WILL AID IN REVIVING THE ECONOMY AND CURTAILING INEFFICIENCY AND CORRUPTION IN THE BUREAUCRACY; BUSINESSMEN, FOR EXAMPLE, APPLAUD GANDHI'S

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WARNING TO LABOR NOT TO STRIKE.⁴

OTHERS ARE WAITING TO SEE IF SHE WILL FINALLY TAKE LONG-NEEDED REMEDIAL MEASURES, SUCH AS TAXING AGRICULTURAL INCOMES, WHICH WOULD ALIENATE INFLUENTIAL SUPPORTERS IN THE CONGRESS PARTY. MOREOVER, THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THE EMERGENCY IS PROVIDING POLICE AND OTHER OFFICIALS WITH NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXTORTING MONEY AND FAVORS.⁴

FOR THE MOST PART, GANDHI'S REPRESSIVE MOVES HAVE BEEN PASSIVELY ACCEPTED. MOST INDIANS APPEAR TO BE WAITING TO SEE HOW THE EMERGENCY WILL AFFECT THEM. THE BULK OF THE POPULATION IS SCARCELY Affected AT ALL BY CHANGES IN THE POWER STRUCTURE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL.⁴

GANDHI'S RIVALS WITHIN THE CONGRESS PARTY REPORTEDLY ARE UNDER SURVEILLANCE AND HAVE LITTLE CHANCE TO UNSEAT HER AT THIS TIME. DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE PARTY IS BEING RIGOROUSLY ENFORCED BY THE VIRTUALLY UNPRECEDENTED TACTIC OF EXPELLING DISSIDENTS.⁴

INDIA'S EDUCATED CLASS, WHILE DEPLORING THE SUSPENSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS, IS CONSOLED BY GANDHI'S CARE, THUS FAR, TO OPERATE WITHIN A LOOSE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK.⁴

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THE VOLATILE STUDENTS, WHO RETURNED TO SCHOOL IN MID-JULY, HAVE NOT YET ATTEMPTED TO ORGANIZE RESISTANCE TO THE POLITICAL CHANGES THAT TOOK PLACE DURING THEIR SUMMER VACATION. THE GOVERNMENT RECENTLY MOVED TO DEFUSE ANY LEADERSHIP FOR THE STUDENTS BY THEIR TEACHERS WHEN SOME 300 INSTRUCTORS IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE NEW DELHI AREA WERE ARRESTED. THE CONGRESS PARTY REPORTEDLY IS DESIGNING A NEW YOUTH PROGRAM IN WHICH UNIFORMED YOUTHS WILL BE GIVEN QUASI-LEGAL POWERS TO OVERSEE LOCAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT MEASURES.⁴

THE MILITARY IS STICKING BY ITS PRACTICE OF AVOIDING POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT. MANY OFFICERS LIKE THE GREATER SENSE OF DISCIPLINE THAT HAS BEEN FORCED UPON THE NATION, AND MOST APPRECIATE GANDHI'S APPARENT RELUCTANCE TO CALL ON THE ARMY TO ASSIST THE POLICE IN ENFORCING HER REPRESSIVE POLICIES.⁴

IN EARLY AUGUST, GANDHI ACTED TO REMOVE ONE OF THE FEW REMAINING POSSIBLE THREATS TO HER CONTINUED EXERCISE OF POWER. SHE HAD PARLIAMENT PASS AN AMENDMENT TO THE ELECTION LAWS WHICH, IN EFFECT, ERASED HER CONVICTION LAST JUNE OF CAMPAIGN VIOLATIONS IN

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THE ELECTION IN 1971. THE AMENDMENT MAKES LARGELY SUPERFLUOUS THE SUPREME COURT HEARING ON GANDHI'S APPEAL AGAINST HER CONVICTION.⁴

WHILE THE ACTION IS CONSTITUTIONAL AND THERE IS PRECEDENT FOR RETROACTIVE LEGISLATION IN INDIA, IT WILL NEVERTHELESS EMBITTER THE PRIME MINISTER'S OPPONENTS AND MAY RAISE NEW QUESTIONS AMONG HER POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS COUNTRYMEN REGARDING THE MORALITY OF HER MODE OF OPERATION.⁴

OVER TIME, POLITICAL DISSIDENTS MAY BE ABLE TO CREATE A POLITICAL UNDERGROUND AND RAISE THE PROSPECT OF SABOTAGE AND ASSASSINATION. MAJOR ECONOMIC SETBACKS WOULD HASTEN THE PROCESS. A FEW WELL-KNOWN POLITICIANS ESCAPED THE DRAGNET IN JUNE AND CONCEIVABLY COULD FURNISH THE REQUISITE LEADERSHIP FOR THE STRUGGLE.⁴

ONLY A FEW ARE PRIVY TO GANDHI'S THINKING ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION. A CABINET-LEVEL COMMITTEE OVERSEES ADMINISTRATION OF EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, BUT THE FACT THAT IT INCLUDES AT LEAST TWO ASPIRANTS TO THE PRIME MINERSHIP REDUCES ITS USEFULNESS TO HER.⁴

GANDHI RELIES INSTEAD ON A NEW INNER CIRCLE THAT INCLUDES HER PRIVATE SECRETARY, THE LEFTIST PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS PARTY, A

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PARTY LEADER FROM BOMBAY, AND HER 28-YEAR-OLD SON, SANJAY.⁴

SANJAY IS A POLITICAL NOVICE WHO IS ALREADY UNDER A CLOUD AS A RESULT OF ALLEGATIONS OF CORRUPTION IN CONNECTION WITH AN AUTO MANUFACTURING PROJECT. SINCE THE EMERGENCY, SANJAY HAS BEEN ISSUING ORDERS TO HIGH-RANKING BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS AND PLAYS A STRONG ROLE IN ENFORCING COMPLIANCE WITH CENTRAL GOVERNMENT DIRECTIVES.⁴

SANJAY HAS A PENCHANT FOR BROWBEATING AND REPORTEDLY HAS ALREADY HAD A SERIOUS RUN-IN WITH ONE OF GANDHI'S MOST ABLE ASSISTANTS, S.S. RAY. RAY HAS BEEN RUMORED AS A LIKELY CANDIDATE FOR A SENIOR POST IN AN ANTICIPATED CABINET SHUFFLE.⁴

GANDHI HAS VERY LIKELY BEEN MAKING DECISIONS ON AN AD HOC BASIS AND HAS NO FIRMLY ESTABLISHED PATH OR TIMETABLE, PREFERRING, AS SHE HAS THROUGH HER NINE AND A HALF YEARS IN OFFICE, TO KEEP HER OPTIONS OPEN AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. SHE DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE STRONG IDEOLOGICAL MOORINGS.⁴

GANDHI'S PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS TO INSULATE AND PROTECT HERSELF FROM ANY KIND OF POLITICAL THREAT. BASED ON PAST PERFORMANCE SHE

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WILL PROBABLY INTERSPERSE PERIODS OF RELATIVE INACTIVITY WITH BOLD NEW MOVES TO CATCH HER OPPONENTS BY SURPRISE.

GANDHI DEPICTS HERSELF AS THE LEADER OF ALL INDIANS, BOUND TO NO PARTICULAR REGION, CASTE, OR RELIGIOUS GROUP.

HER NATIONAL REPUTATION AND FAMILY BACKGROUND ARE UNIQUE AND HELP ACCOUNT FOR HER POPULARITY WITH THE MASSES. CROWDS TURN OUT MERELY TO SEE HER, THOUGH THEY DO NOT ALWAYS LISTEN TO WHAT SHE SAYS.

GANDHI'S GREATEST ASSET IS HER WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO PLAY POLITICS WITH FEW HOLDS BARRED. SHE ADMITS SHE IS NOT INHIBITED BY HER FATHER'S STERN SENSE OF PROPRIETY. "MY FATHER," SHE SAYS, "WAS A SAINT WHO STRAYED INTO POLITICS, I AM NOT OF THE SAME STUFF." {CONFIDENTIAL}

2. BAHRAIN: BAHRAIN, APPROACHING ITS FOURTH INDEPENDENCE DAY ON AUGUST 14, IS POLITICALLY STABLE AND MORE PROSPEROUS THAN BAHRAINIS IMAGINED IMPOSSIBLE A FEW YEARS AGO. NEVERTHELESS, THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST SIX MONTHS HAVE BEEN SOBERING FOR AMIR ISA AL-KHALIFA AND THE REST OF THE RULING FAMILY. RENEUED HASSLING BETWEEN THE KHALIFAS AND THE FRACTIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

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FOR SUPREMACY ON THE PERSIAN GULF ISLAND CAN BE EXPECTED WHEN THE LEGISLATURE RECONVENES IN OCTOBER.⁴

MANAMA'S STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THE ASSEMBLY WORKED WELL DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE LEGISLATIVE YEAR WHICH BEGAN LAST OCTOBER. THAT STRATEGY CALLED FOR ISOLATING AND KEEPING OFF BALANCE BOTH THE RADICAL LEFTISTS AND THE CONSERVATIVE SHIA MUSLIMS IN THE ASSEMBLY, WHILE BUILDING UP A SOLID BODY OF SUPPORTERS AMONG THE INDEPENDENT-MINDED CENTRIST DEPUTIES BY SPONSORING PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LEGISLATION.⁴

THE EROSION OF CENTRIST SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT BEGAN IN JANUARY 1975 DURING DEBATES OVER ECONOMIC POLICY. EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS TOOK ON A MUCH HARSHER NOTE IN THE SPRING, WHEN CONTROVERSY ERUPTED OVER THE GOVERNMENT'S TOUGH INTERNAL SECURITY DECREE. BY MID-1975, THE TWO BRANCHES HAD REACHED AN IMPASSE AND AMIR ISA ORDERED THE RECESS OF THE ASSEMBLY. THE GOVERNMENT HAS SINCE IMPOSED TOUGH PRESS CENSORSHIP TO PREVENT FURTHER PUBLIC DEBATE ON THE LAW-AND-ORDER QUESTION.⁴

THE GOVERNMENT IS NOW BRACING FOR A RENEWAL OF CONFLICT

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WHEN THE ASSEMBLY BEGINS ITS THIRD SESSION THIS FALL. THE SECURITY DECREE IS STILL UP IN THE AIR. A LONG-PROMISED LABOR LAW REMAINS ON THE AGENDA; LEFTISTS IN BAHRAIN HAVE BEEN TRYING FOR YEARS TO GET A LAW PERMITTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIONS. THE KHALIFA GOVERNMENT WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE CHALLENGED ABOUT INFLATION, WAGES, AND THE INSUFFICIENCY OF PUBLIC SERVICES.4

THE BAHRAINI PRIME MINISTER HAS CLAIMED THE 'KHALIFAS DO NOT INTEND TO ABANDON CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES, BUT HE DID EXPRESS UNHAPPINESS ABOUT THE DEPUTIES' UNWILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN SOLVING THE COUNTRY'S "REAL PROBLEMS." THERE HAVE BEEN HINTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT MAY DECIDE TO DISSOLVE THE CURRENT ASSEMBLY AND CALL FOR NEW ELECTIONS BEFORE OCTOBER. {CONFIDENTIAL}

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 123-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: PORTUGAL'S RADICAL RULERS ARE BEING CONFRONTED BY AN INCREASINGLY REBELLIOUS POPULACE WHOSE CAUSE IS BEING SUPPORTED BY SOME MILITARY UNITS STATIONED IN THE NORTH.⁴

PORTUGUESE ARMY UNITS IN THE NORTH OPENLY DEFIED ORDERS FROM LISBON ON THURSDAY TO QUELL ANTI-COMMUNIST DISTURBANCES. ONE PRESS REPORT CLAIMS ARMY UNITS HAVE PRESENTED THE COMMANDER OF THE NORTHERN REGION WITH A PETITION SUPPORTING THE CREATION OF A MULTIPARTY GOVERNMENT. THE MOMENTUM FOR A DIRECT CHALLENGE OF THIS TYPE HAS BEEN BUILDING ALL WEEK. IF IT CONTINUES, THE PRESENT LEADERS OF THE RULING ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT WILL SOON HAVE TO DECIDE HOW TO RESPOND.⁴

--THEY CAN ACCEDE TO THE DEMAND FOR A MULTIPARTY SOCIALIST STATE. SUCH A CONCESSION WOULD REPRESENT A MAJOR VICTORY FOR THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE LESS RADICAL, PRO-WESTERN FACTION IN THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL.⁴

--THEY CAN TRY TO IGNORE THESE DEMANDS AND ATTEMPT

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TO IMPOSE A SEVERE CLAMPDOWN. SOME HINT OF THIS COURSE OF ACTION IS EVIDENT IN RECENT HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS OF NEW PRESS CENSORSHIP AND AUSTERITY MEASURES. THIS APPROACH WOULD PROBABLY RESULT IN CONFRONTATION INVOLVING MILITARY UNITS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.⁴

--THEY CAN MAKE AN EFFORT TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR SUPPORT IN LISBON AND SURROUNDING AREAS IN THE SOUTH--IN EFFECT CUTTING THE NORTH AND OTHER DISSIDENT AREASADRIFT--IN THE HOPE THAT THEY CAN AVOID MAJOR CONFRONTATIONS NOW AND EXTEND THEIR INFLUENCE TO THESE AREAS LATER.⁴

BECAUSE THE TIDE OF ANTI-COMMUNIST SENTIMENT IS GROWING NOT ONLY IN THE NORTH BUT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY AND THE DISCIPLINE OF MILITARY UNITS NECESSARY TO QUELL A REBELLION IS AT SUCH A LOW EBB, COMMON SENSE WOULD SEEM TO DICTATE SOME CONCESSIONS BY RADICAL OFFICERS AND THE COMMUNISTS AT THIS TIME.⁴

MOST PRESS ACCOUNTS, HOWEVER, INDICATE THAT THE MOVEMENT IS

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NOT YET READY TO GIVE IN TO THIS SENTIMENT. THEY PREDICT THAT THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO BE SWORN IN ON FRIDAY, WILL AGAIN BE LED BY VASCO GONCALVES, WITH A CABINET LARGELY MADE UP OF RADICAL OFFICERS, COMMUNISTS, OR COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS. THE SOCIALIST AND POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTIES REPORTEDLY WILL NOT BE REPRESENTED. 4

THIS SITUATION COULD CHANGE, HOWEVER, AFTER INTERNAL SECURITY CHIEF CARVALHO AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF FABIAO REPORT ON THEIR TOUR OF THE NORTHERN AREA AND PRESENT THEIR VIEWS ON THE HOSTILE MOOD OF THE POPULACE. 4

THERE ARE, MOREOVER, LATE REPORTS THAT INDICATE THAT THE ANTI-GONCALVES ELEMENTS ARE STILL MAKING AN EFFORT TO HEAD OFF THE INSTALLATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, WHICH THEY HAVE PUBLICLY DENOUNCED AS "MANIFESTLY INCAPABLE." [CONFIDENTIAL]4

2. SPAIN: CIVILIANS STRIVING TO LIBERALIZE THE SPANISH REGIME SUFFERED ANOTHER SETBACK LAST WEEK WHEN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION SCHEDULED FOR THIS FALL WAS POSTPONED UNTIL THE SPRING OF 1976. OFFICIALLY, THE DELAY WAS ATTRIBUTED TO THE BURDEN OF PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS, BUT THE MOVE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN

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ORCHESTRATED BY RIGHT WINGERS IN FRANCO'S NATIONAL MOVEMENT AS PART OF A LARGER STRATEGY TO ENSURE THEIR CONTROL IN THE POST-FRANCO PERIOD. THEIR SUCCESS HAS INCREASED THE INFLUENCE OF SOLIS RUIZ, WHO RESUMED HIS POSITION AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN JUNE.⁴

PRIME MINISTER ARIAS HOPES HIS PROGRAM OF POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION WILL CHANGE THE COMPLEXION OF THE NEXT PARLIAMENT AND PERHAPS THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE REALM. THE DELAY IN ELECTING THE PARLIAMENT WILL GIVE FRANCO THE OPPORTUNITY TO APPOINT A NEW PRESIDENT FOR THE COUNCIL OF THE REALM, FROM NOMINATIONS SUBMITTED BY THE PRESENT FRANCO-DOMINATED COUNCIL. THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL WILL HAVE A KEY ROLE DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD AFTER FRANCO DIES OR BECOMES INCAPACITATED. THE INCUMBENT, RODRIGUEZ DE VALCARCEL, WHO IS CLOSE TO FRANCO AND WHO HAS ACQUIRED CONSIDERABLE PRESTIGE DURING HIS TENURE, IS ELIGIBLE FOR REAPPOINTMENT.⁴

THE POSTPONEMENT GIVES THE NEW POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS

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A BETTER CHANCE TO ORGANIZE, BUT IT WILL ALSO ALLOW THE REGIME MORE TIME TO INFLUENCE THE WAY IN WHICH THE ASSOCIATIONS WILL PARTICIPATE IN FUTURE ELECTIONS. NO PROVISION HAS YET BEEN MADE FOR FINANCING THE POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS OR ASSURING THEM ACCESS TO THE MEDIA. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET-H

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 123-75-4

//PANAMA// PANAMANIAN GENERAL TORRIJOS, FACED WITH DELAYS IN THE CANAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS AND WITH WHAT HE CONSIDERS A HARDENED US ATTITUDE, IS SEEKING MORE FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR PANAMA'S CASE. HE IS DEVOTING CONSIDERABLE TIME TO PRESENTING PANAMA'S CASE TO FOREIGN LEADERS.//4

MARSH LAST MONTH, TORRIJOS SIGNED A JOINT DECLARATION WITH THE PRESIDENTS OF COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA CALLING FOR THE EARLY TRANSFER OF THE CANAL TO PANAMANIAN JURISDICTION. THE THREE CHIEF EXECUTIVES INTEND TO SEEK US AUTHORIZATION TO RELEASE LETTERS THE PRESIDENTS OF COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, AND VENEZUELA HAD SENT PRESIDENT FORD ON THE CANAL PROBLEMS.//4

//TORRIJOS AND THE TWO PRESIDENTS PROPOSED THAT ALL THE AREA'S CHIEFS OF STATE MEET NEXT YEAR ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1928 PANAMA CONFERENCE, PRESUMABLY TO CALL FURTHER ATTENTION TO THE CANAL ISSUE.//4

//THE PANAMANIAN LEADER APPARENTLY FELT THAT PLAYING HOST TO THE RECENT CONFERENCE ON FORMING A LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC

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SYSTEM WAS ENOUGH OF A BOOST FOR PANAMA'S PRESTIGE THAT HE DID NOT HAVE TO PRESS THE CANAL PROBLEM AT THAT MEETING. HE ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL, HOWEVER, MAKE A STRONG PITCH FOR THIRD-WORLD SUPPORT AT THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, SCHEDULED TO BEGIN IN LIMA ON AUGUST 25.//4

//TORRIJOS HAD BEEN RELUCTANT TO BECOME CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES; HE DECIDED AT THE LAST MINUTE NOT TO ATTEND THEIR SUMMIT MEETING IN ALGIERS IN 1973. TORRIJOS IS NOW LIKELY TO BELIEVE THAT THE BENEFITS OF Formal MEMBERSHIP IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT OUTWEIGHS THE DRAWBACKS.//4

//TORRIJOS MAY ALSO INITIATE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND CHINA AND TRAVEL TO CUBA FOR A FIRST MEETING WITH FIDEL CASTRO. THESE INITIATIVES WOULD DEMONSTRATE PANAMA'S "INDEPENDENCE" FROM THE US AND SIGNAL TORRIJOS' IMPATIENCE WITH THE SLOW PROGRESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. (CONFIDENTIAL NO FOREIGN DISSEM) //E-2 IMPDET.M

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 123-75.4

1. NORTH VIETNAM - THAILAND: HANOI'S PARTY DAILY NHAN DAN CARRIED ANOTHER IN A SERIES OF EDITORIALS ON THURSDAY WHICH, OVER THE PAST MONTH, HAVE SHARPLY CRITICIZED THAI FOREIGN POLICY AND HAVE CALLED INTO QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF THE THAI GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. THE EDITORIAL COMMEMORATED THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE THAI INSURGENCY AND STRONGLY BACKED THE THAI "PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY."//

THE NORTH VIETNAMESE OBVIOUSLY ARE SMARTING OVER BANGKOK'S REFUSAL TO RESUME DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS IN HANOI, DELIVERED IN AN UNUSUALLY BLUNT NOTE FROM FOREIGN MINISTER CHATCHAI IN LATE JUNE. IN ADDITION, THEY ARE UNDOUBTEDLY SUSPICIOUS OF BANGKOK'S QUICK ESTABLISHMENT OF FORMAL RELATIONS WITH CHINA.//THE COMMENTARIES ARE PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF THAI RELATIONS WITH THE US, CHARGING BANGKOK WITH CONTINUED "COLLUSION" AND LACK OF SINCERITY IN EFFORTS TO REMOVE US MILITARY FORCES.//

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HANOI'S BARRAGE BEGAN SHORTLY AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF PRIME MINISTER KHUKRIT'S VISIT TO CHINA ON JULY 6.//THE CRITICAL TONE INCREASED SHARPLY IN MID-JULY WHEN BANGKOK ANNOUNCED THAT THAI NAVAL UNITS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN A SEATO EXERCISE WITH AMERICAN FORCES. ON JULY 3, HANOI'S FOREIGN MINISTRY SHARPLY PROTESTED THE USE BY THE US OF THAI BASES FOR U-2 FLIGHTS OVER INDOCHINA AND PUBLICLY ENDORSED SOUTH VIETNAM'S PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT {PRG} CLAIM TO SHIPS AND PLANES BROUGHT INTO THAILAND AT THE END OF THE WAR. IN ENDORSING THE PRG CLAIMS, HANOI DEPARTED FROM ITS PREVIOUS PRACTICE OF MERELY REPEATING SOUTH VIETNAMESE CLAIMS WITHOUT COMMENT.//4

HANOI'S IRE IS PROBABLY BEING GIVEN ADDED IMPETUS BY THE GROWING REALIZATION THAT ITS NEGOTIATORS MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN BY BANGKOK'S INITIAL OPENNESS AND APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO MEET HANOI DEMANDS. IN EARLY JUNE, HANOI WAS RIDING HIGH ON THE EUPHORIA OF ITS VICTORY IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND PROBABLY ANTICIPATED THAT NEIGHBORING SOUTHEAST ASIAN STATES,

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ESPECIALLY THAILAND, WOULD BE QUICK TO YIELD TO ITS CONDITIONS IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS AND FEND OFF NORTH VIETNAMESE SUPPORT FOR INSURGENT MOVEMENTS IN THEIR COUNTRIES. 4

THE NEW EDITORIALS SUGGEST THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE HOW COME TO REALIZE THAT BANGKOK IS NOT THE PUSHOVER THAT HANOI ORIGINALLY THOUGHT IT WOULD BE. THE EDITORIALS ALSO DAMPEN THE PROSPECTS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES ANYTIME SOON. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

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